

**Documentation for CIA intervention dataset for “Commercial Imperialism: US
Influence and Trade During the Cold War”**

By Daniel Berger, William Easterly, Nathan Nunn and Shanker Satyanath

Summary of Interventions

For each country with a CIA intervention, this document lists the years of the intervention and provides a brief description of the nature of the interventions. The file “Intervention_Table.xls” provides the data sources for the interventions listed below, and the file “Intervention_References.pdf” provides the list of references for the citations.

In this document, next to the years of the intervention, we also report a rough categorization of the types of intervention in brackets. The categories reported are as follows:

“Install & support” are CIA interventions that installed and supported a new regime. These are included in the “install and support” CIA intervention measure, as well as in the baseline intervention measure *US influence*.

“Support existing regime” denotes CIA interventions that did not install the current regime, but begin to provide significant support to the regime and helped it maintain power. These interventions are included in “support only” interventions, the baseline intervention measure *US influence*, but not in “install and support” interventions.

These are the same categories reported in “Intervention_Table.xls”.

Description of interventions

Argentina

1976-1982 (Support existing regime)

The junta, which took power in 1976, coordinated with the CIA during the dirty war. The CIA was aware of the coup months before it began and encouraged it. This relationship continued until the country lost the 1982 Falklands war, which led to the fall of the military regime.

Bahrain

1971-Present (Support existing regime)

See section on the Eisenhower Doctrine.

Bolivia

1964-1978 (Install & support)

The CIA and the Pentagon assisted Barrientos in his 1964 coup, and subsequently supported the government until Banzer was overthrown in 1978. The CIA influenced Barriento's vice presidential election by staging a fake assassination attempt on him, then planted stories in CIA funded newspapers about his heroic survival. Another fake assassination attempt later that year was used to justify the removal of the president to take power himself. This led Blum (2004, 223) to state that "the role played by the CIA and the Pentagon in obtaining [the presidency] for Barrientos was *sine qua non*."

Brazil

1964-1977 (Install & support)

The CIA, with some coordination with the state department, helped overthrow Goulart in 1964. Using the CIA-owned press, the CIA planted fake stories about Goulart's plans to alter the constitution to extend his term and about personal moral failings. The CIA informed Washington about a planned coup in 1963, which was then held off until the following year. Support for the new government continued until President Geisel renounced the alliance with the US in 1977.

Cambodia

1970 (Support existing regime)

1975 (Support existing regime)

After his 1970 coup, Lon Nol coordinated with the pentagon to bomb his enemies, especially the Khmer Rouge.

The US strongly supports the short-lived Sauron regime in 1975, with operation Eagle Pull saving the life of President Khoy.

Chad

1982-1990 (Install & support)

The CIA supplied money, weapons, political support and technical assistance to Hissen Habre, who took control of the country in 1982.

Chile

1964-1970 (Install & support)

1973-1988 (Install & support)

The CIA funded Eduardo Frei's Christian Democratic Party in Chile's 1964 elections, spending over \$20 million, which was more than half the total party spending. Frei won the elections. Salvador Allende, leader of the Popular Unity coalition, won the 1970 elections despite a similar CIA campaign for Radomir Tomic, the Christian Democratic Party candidate against Allende. Upon losing the election, the CIA began planning a coup to remove Allende, and identified Augusto Pinochet as the new military leader. This coup was executed in 1973, during which Allende allegedly committed suicide. The CIA supported the military dictator Augusto Pinochet, who remained in power until 1988.

Colombia

1962 (Support existing regime)

The CIA was involved in training the secret police, and in "dirty tricks" such as attempting to replace local leaders with pro-US local leaders in 1962.

Congo, Democratic Republic (Zaire)

1960-1997 (Install & support)

The CIA engineered the coup overthrowing Lumumba in 1960, and strongly supported the Mobutu government from then on. Director Dulles personally authorized the program to remove Lumumba in August 1960, less than 2 months after independence.

Cuba

1952-1958 (Support existing regime)

While there is no evidence that the CIA was involved in the coup that brought Batista to power in 1952, the pro-business, anti-communist Batista received significant assistance from the CIA, including weapons and help setting up an anti-communist intelligence bureau.

Dominican Republic

1930-1978 (Support existing regime)

The United States supported Trujillo until fears that he was too similar to Batista and therefore prone to fall to a Castro-style revolution led to the decision to replace him. After his assassination, the CIA supported a succession of leaders leading to the 1962 election. When Bosch won and took power in 1963, his leftist politics antagonized the upper class, the Church hierarchy and the military establishment. The US did not stand in the way of a Balaguer led coup later that year, and supported him until 1978.

Ecuador

1963-1968 (Install & support)

The CIA assisted the military junta which removed Arosemana in 1963, due to his being too close to Cuba. The Junta immediately outlawed communism and arrested communists from a list provided to them by the CIA. Velasco, who had been president in the early 1960's, was re-elected in 1968.

Egypt

1952 (Support existing regime)

1972-Present (Support existing regime)

Nasser took power in 1952 after a coup in which the CIA was not involved. Initially (i.e., in 1952), the CIA supported Nasser with money and military aid, but stopped within the same year as Nasser was behaving too independently.

The United States did not support Sadat when he took power in 1970. In 1972 he expelled the Soviets and set up secret meetings with his internal security director and US intelligence. From then on, the CIA provided significant support to the regime, which included large shipments of weapons. After the Camp David Accords of 1978, CIA assistance increased further.

El Salvador

1932-Present (Support existing regime)

The American government supported Salvadoran governments from the crushing of the peasant rebellion in 1932 on. During this period the CIA trained the security and intelligence forces.

Ethiopia

1941-1974 (Support existing regime)

The US provided weapons and security training to the Selassie regime until it was overthrown in 1974. This began during World War II, before the foundation of the CIA, and continued after the CIA was formed. The CIA in particular was successful in stopping a coup attempt against Selassie when he was visiting Brazil.

Ghana

1966-1972 (Install & support)

The CIA, disturbed by his socialist tendencies and his African Unity project, assisted in the 1966 coup to remove Kwame Nkrumah from power. The CIA station in Accra coordinated closely with the coup-plotters, a group of military and police chiefs, during both the planning and operational phases. A pro-Western government headed by Kofi Busia was elected in 1969; foreign debt issues inherited from the Nkrumah era precipitated austerity programs. The Acheampong coup in 1972 (partially in response to IMF austerity measures which cut military salaries) brought in a government that was not supported by the CIA.

Greece

1947-1964 (Support existing regime)

1967-1974 (Install & support)

In 1947 the US government (through the State department, not the CIA, which wouldn't be formed until several months later) ordered the Greek government to request US intervention. This was followed by large shipments of weapons and other aid. The CIA then created the internal security agency of the US-supported government. George Papandreou, who was independent of Washington, was elected in February 1964. The CIA backed the coup of 1967, which resulted in Georgios C. Papadopoulos, a long-time CIA asset, coming to power. The military government ruled until 1974.

Grenada

1983-1995 (Install & support)

The United States invaded Grenada in 1983, and the CIA supported the subsequent regime. The 1995 elections led to a change in the party in power and the end of CIA support.

Guatemala

1954-1985 (Install & support)

Jacobo Arbenz Guzman was a democratically elected president of Guatemala (in 1951) who promoted policies of land reform. This threatened the interests of United Fruit Company, a large US company owning vast amounts of land and assets in Guatemala. The CIA supported and orchestrated the 1954 military coup that overthrew the Arbenz government. The CIA broadcasted reports that the rebels were advancing and that Arbenz should surrender. They bombed certain locations, and created an overall image that the government's military was crumbling, and that a coup was imminent. Army commanders were paid to defect. In the end, Guatemalan officers pressured Arbenz to resign. The offset marks the adoption of the civilian constitution and elections in 1985.

Guyana

1966-1985 (Install & support)

The CIA funded and conducted Forbes Burnham's campaign to be the first president of post-colonial Guyana. It spent over one million dollars on the campaign. It also convinced the British to leave the country with a list proportional representation system, which was also thought to favor the pro-US faction. The intervention started in the colonial period, but is coded here as beginning in the first year of independence since that was the year that the Burnham government officially had power. Burnham held power until his death in 1985.

Haiti

1950-1986 (Support existing regime)

Paul E. Magloire, François Duvalier (Papa Doc), and Jean-Claude Duvalier (Baby Doc) were not installed by the US, but were reliant on CIA support and military aid to stay in power. Magloire took power in a 1950 coup and used his anti-communism to appeal to US intelligence. Baby Doc fled the country in 1986 and CIA support ended.

Honduras

1964-1988 (Support existing regime)

General Oswaldo Lopez turned to the US for support in 1964. Support between 1979 and 1985, mostly during Roberto Sauzo's government, shifted from development aid to economic aid and military assistance, partly to use Honduras as a staging area for Contra guerillas' activities against the neighboring Sandinista government in Nicaragua. This support included CIA assistance with kidnapping and torture teams. Support and assistance continued until 1988 when the US ambassador was expelled from the country.

Indonesia

1965-1998 (Install & support)

In 1965, the day after a group of anti-CIA Indonesian military officers moved to forestall a CIA coup, General Suharto successfully crushed the group. In the same year, Suharto led a military campaign to purge the country of Communists, removing the Communist Party of Indonesia, which supported Sukarno. The CIA supported and encouraged this and reportedly drew up many of the death lists. The military and the Communist Party withdrew their support of Sukarno, who had ruled via a consensus among these groups. In 1965, power was unofficially transferred to Suharto. (We code this as the first year of the intervention.) Suharto held Sukarno “hostage” politically, and in 1967 Sukarno officially stepped down. He remained under house arrest until his death in 1970.

Iran

1953-1979 (Install & support)

In 1951, democratically elected President Mohammad Mossadegh nationalized the Iranian oil industry, which had previously been under British control. The CIA, at the urging of Great Britain, overthrew Mossadegh in a 1953 coup, with the coerced support of the Shah. This coup, codenamed Operation Ajax was used within the Agency as an example of how best to stage a coup. The CIA also trained the Shah’s internal security apparatus SAVAK, and provided it with lists of Communists to target. The intervention lasted until 1979, when the Shah was overthrown by Ayatollah Khomeini.

Iraq

1955 (Support existing regime)

1963-1988 (Install & support)

The 1955 Baghdad pact was viewed as institutionalizing support for moderate Arab leaders. Iraq was the only Arab country that joined. Since Iraq did not border Israel, Dulles determined that Iraq was a good country to send arms to. Eisenhower also agreed to a grant to Iraq contingent on their joining the pact. The military aid that followed was useful for internal repression.

In 1963, the CIA backed a coup against the government of Iraq headed by General Qasim. The CIA supported the new Ba’ath party led by Salam Arif. When he died in 1966, his brother Abdul Rahman Arif took over. In 1968, backed by the CIA, Arif was overthrown, and Saddam Hussein came to power. The CIA supported Hussein during the Iraqi-Iran war, which ended in 1988.

We code the CIA as stopping to support Hussein in 1988. Both the House and Senate had passed sanctions (which were never successfully reconciled) and with the end of the Iran-Iraq War, Saddam Hussein's personal importance to the United States greatly diminished.

Italy

1948-1983 (Install & support)

In the 1948 Italian election, the Italian Communist Party was funded by the Soviet Union. The CIA funded the Christian Democracy Party, which won the election. The CIA later admitted to giving one million dollars to centrist parties in Italy. Money was used for campaign expenses, such as posters, pamphlets, etc. The CIA also sent out letters, radio broadcasts, and other forms of propaganda. The CIA continued to fund the elections favored parties for decades. The socialists under Craxi were elected in 1983 without CIA support. This marks the offset period.

Japan

1952-1967 (Install & support)

Shigeru Yoshida was the prime minister of Japan for part of the period of American occupation and continued after the occupation ended in 1952. This marks the onset of CIA support. The CIA provided multiple millions of dollars to the Liberal Democratic Party during the 1950s and 1960s. Money continued to flow to the LDP until 1967.

Jordan

1957 (Support existing regime)

King Hussein received covert funds from the CIA in 1957.

Korea, South

1949-1993 (Support existing regime)

“[Syngman] Rhee was soon maneuvered into a position of prominence and authority by the US Army Military Government in Korea.” (Blum 2004, 49). When the US Military Government in Korea handed over power to Koreans in 1949, Rhee was left in charge. Postwar South Korean governments were reliant on US financial and military equipment support, funneled first through both the military and the CIA. This continued until President Kim Young Sam took power in 1993.

Kuwait

1961-Present (Support existing regime)

See the discussion regarding the Eisenhower Doctrine, below.

Laos

1954-1957 (Support existing regime)

1958-1973 (Install & support)

The West was involved with the Laotian government from before independence was fully reached in 1954. The CIA secretly purchased the airline Civil Air Transportation and used it to fly in military and police supplies.

In 1958, the CIA forced the Prime Minister, Souvanna Phouma, to collapse the government and create a US backed anticommunist government, which immediately canceled the elections scheduled for December. This CIA backed government retained power until 1973.

Lebanon

1957-1983 (Install & support)

The CIA sent an “election specialist” and money (amount undisclosed) to ensure that Camille Chamoun's allies won the 1957 parliamentary election. The US influence continued until the marine barracks bombing in 1983.

Liberia

1912-1989 (Support existing regime)

In 1912, the Liberian Frontier Force (the Liberian army) came under US command. In 1921 US officials assumed control of Liberian financial affairs as well. The United States has trained the top levels of the police and security forces and continued to be officially integrated into the command of the Liberian military after World War II. While this began before the creation of the CIA, contacts with and training of local security forces was a function taken over by the CIA shortly after its inception. A major CIA station was constructed in Liberia in the 1950s. The beginning of the first Liberian civil war in 1989 marks the end of the intervention.

Nepal

1959-1962 (Install & support)

The CIA rigged the 1959 elections to install B.P. Koirala's Nepali Congress Party. The party remained in power until the King Mahendra dismissed the government in 1962.

Nicaragua

1936-1979 (Support existing regime)

The United States supported Anastasio Somoza until he was overthrown by the Sadinistas in 1979. This relationship predated the CIA, but once the agency was formed it coordinated with the regime and provided large quantities of military aid, including CIA aircraft with pilots.

Oman

1970-Present (Support existing regime)

See the discussion regarding the Eisenhower Doctrine, below.

Panama

1903-1968 (Support existing regime)

1981-1987 (Install & support)

1989 (Install & support)

The United States' interest in supporting pliable governments in Panama due to the canal predates the Cold War period. In 1903 “[t]he Republic of Panama became a de facto protectorate of the [United States] through two provisions whereby the United States guaranteed the independence of Panama and received in return the right to intervene in Panama's domestic affairs.” (Library of Congress Country Study: Panama) As this significantly began before WWII and the creation of the CIA, many of the contacts were through the Departments of State and Defense. Training in torture, bomb-making and assassination was provided by the US with the help of the CIA.

In 1968, Omar Torrijos staged a coup, marking the end of the CIA-supported government. In 1981, Torrijos died in an air crash and CIA-supported Manuel Noriega became the effective chief of state in the military junta. The CIA is widely believed to have planted a bomb on Torrijos’ plane, although it has never formally admitted to having done so.

In 1987, the US government and CIA stopped assistance to Panama because of Noriega's involvement in the drug trade.

The US military invaded Panama in 1989.

Paraguay

1954-1989 (Support existing regime)

The CIA was not involved in Stroessner's coming to power, but provided weapons and counter-insurgency training because he was seen as an anti-communist ally during his rule from 1954-1989. The government of Paraguay also received support as part of the CIA's Operation Condor.

Peru

1965 (Support existing regime)

In 1965, the Peruvian government requested counterinsurgency assistance from the United States. The CIA designed and implemented the short and focused joint CIA/Peruvian/Green Beret counterinsurgency operation.

Philippines

1946-1986 (Install & support)

In 1946 US intelligence (before the creation of the CIA) worked with Philippine allies to prevent the seating of anti-American congressmen on the pretense that they had only won their seats through coercion. The Philippine-US trade act (which treats US corporations as Philippine companies) would not have passed had those members been permitted to be elected. The US continued to manipulate elections until the election of Corazon Aquino in 1986. While the initial intervention was pre-CIA and the year before our dataset starts it was the same type of covert intelligence installation of a government that the CIA would conduct once it was formed.

Qatar

1971-Present (Support existing regime)

See the discussion regarding the Eisenhower Doctrine, below.

Saudi Arabia

1932-Present (Support existing regime)

CIA continuously supported the Royal Family during this period, first financially and later with weapons and police training.

Somalia

1977-1991 (Support existing regime)

The US supported the Somali government with money and weapons in their war with Ethiopia from 1977 until to the collapse of Somalia in 1991. In particular, the CIA provided training for Ethiopia's police force. It is not clear from the literature how much of the money and weapons were delivered directly by the CIA, but from the type of assistance and the CIA training of the police force we code this as a case of CIA regime support.

South Africa

1962 (Support existing regime)

The CIA and the South African Bureau of State Security worked closely together, capturing Nelson Mandela in 1962.

Syria

1949-1954 (Install & support)

The CIA installed Shishakli in 1949, who was overthrown in 1954 by Ba'ath and communist military officers.

Taiwan

1945-Present (Support existing regime)

The Taiwanese government depended strongly on US and CIA support, namely arms shipments, training, joint exercises, and an implicit military security guarantee. This support began before the founding of the CIA, but after its founding, the CIA provided significant support, and in turn was able to use Taiwan as a base from which to spy on mainland China.

Thailand

1953 (Support existing regime)

1957-1968 (Support existing regime)

1969-1973 (Install & support)

In 1953, the CIA provided training for the Thai military and police.

In 1957, Sarit staged a coup without CIA assistance, and immediately began a crackdown on leftists. Following the coup, Sarit worked with the CIA, agreeing on the specific front groups the CIA would use to provide police and military training. In 1965, the US demanded that the military dictatorship hold elections. The CIA helped the generals build a military political party. The elections, rigged with the help of the US, were eventually held in 1969. The military party won, and full martial law was again implemented in 1971. In 1973, the student democracy movement brought down the government.

United Arab Emirates

1971-Present (Support existing regime)

See the discussion regarding the Eisenhower Doctrine, below.

Uruguay

1964-1983 (Support existing regime)

Starting no later than 1964, the CIA allied with Uruguayan authorities to suppress leftist and communist opponents of the regime. This continued until 1983.

Vietnam, South

1955-1975 (Install & support)

Following the French withdrawal from Indochina in 1955, a referendum was planned for the future of the country. The CIA signals to Diem that he should postpone elections as long as possible, and in October assists in conducting sham elections. Diem won these overwhelmingly, replacing former head of state Bao Dai. (The CIA encouraged Diem to win with 60% of the vote instead of the 98.8% of the vote he wanted.) The CIA consulted with Minh and the ARVN generals prior to the 1963 coup and assassination of Diem. Without US assistance the coup most likely would not have been successful. The military regime continues, with CIA support, until the fall of Saigon in 1975.

Zambia

1977 (Support existing regime)

The CIA provided under-the-table assistance to Kenneth Kaunda. The CIA met regularly with, and worked closely, with both the security services and President Kaunda himself.

Eisenhower Doctrine

In 1957, President Eisenhower declared that the United States would help Middle Eastern countries “resist communist influence” with \$600 million pledged to the program. He specified that this was partially to protect Western Europe from losing access to oil. Eisenhower relied very heavily on the CIA for advice on Middle East policy (he had wanted to name Kermit Roosevelt as undersecretary of state for the Middle East) and this plan in specific was created with the assistance of Dulles. “The agency saw every Muslim political chief who would not pledge allegiance to the United States as `a target legally authorized by statute for CIA political action.’” (Weiner 2007, 136)